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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 9 October 1992, at 12.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. MERIMEE	(France)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. PEREIRA
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/24636, which contains the text of a draft resolution presented by Austria, Belgium, France, Morocco, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/24616 and S/24640, letters dated 5 and 8 October 1992 respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council transmitting letters dated 4 and 7 October 1992 respectively, from the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/24634, letter dated 8 October 1992 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Chairman of the Working Group on Confidence and Security-Building and Verification Measures to the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

It is so decided.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. JIN YONGJIAN (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned with the current development of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We hope that with the cooperation of all the parties concerned the relevant agreements reached at the London Conference will be implemented as soon as possible. Therefore we do not oppose, in principle, the establishment of a ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the consent of all the relevant parties to ensure the smooth operation of humanitarian relief activities and the safety of the innocent civilian population there.

Nevertheless we have noted the concern expressed by Mr. Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, in his letter addressed to the President of the Security Council on 8 October 1992, in which he said:

> "I have consistently been concerned about the implications that proposals to amend the mandate of UNPROFOR might have for its effectiveness and the security of its personnel. It is in this spirit that I would like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the proposed ban and the modalities of its monitoring do not yet enjoy the consent of all the parties."

The Chinese delegation shares the concern of the Secretary-General. It should also be pointed out that the draft resolution in document S/24636 embodies similar content to that in Security Council resolution 770 (1992), which authorizes the use of force, and that, in particular, the possibility of using force in future is implied in other paragraphs of this draft resolution. China's position in this regard is known to all.

For those reasons, the Chinese delegation finds it difficult to support this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I now put the draft resolution (S/24636) to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: China

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against, and one absention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 781 (1992).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): In establishing a no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina the Security Council is taking an important step to address the violence that has racked that Republic and to support the efforts of the London Conference.

Our support for this action was clearly stated by President Bush on 2 October, when he observed that:

"At London, the parties agreed to a ban on all military flights over Bosnia. Yet the bombing of defenceless population centres has actually increased. This flagrant disregard for human life and for a clear agreement requires a response from the international community, and we will take steps to see that the ban is respected."

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

The London Conference Agreements reflect the approach of the international community to the crisis and include the concurrence of the warring parties in Bosnia. The proposed Security Council resolution codifies a ban on military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an action specifically agreed to by Bosnian Serb representatives.

Our vote in favour of the current resolution reflects our view that in the case of violations it binds the Council to further action. It is up to the parties themselves to carry through on all London commitments and this resolution calling for the banning of military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such responsible action would remove from this body the need to consider further enforcement measures resulting from non-compliance.

If, however, the current resolution is violated, my Government will move to seek adoption by the Council of a further resolution mandating enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): The comprehensive set of decisions and recommendations agreed upon by all parties at the London Conference had raised the hopes of my delegation, as indeed of countries throughout the world, that an end to the agony of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not far away. One of the recommendations was a ban on military flights over Bosnian territory. These flights reportedly bomb civilian centres and disrupt humanitarian efforts and are obviously not conducive to building the atmosphere of confidence that is so essential for furthering a political settlement of the situation.

However, as the Secretary-General has indicated in his letter addressed to the Council yesterday, military flights still operate over Bosnian airspace. In the circumstances, concerted action by the international community, as represented by this Council, is clearly called for. It is only

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

logical that the parties comply with the agreement they themselves have voluntarily entered into.

With this aim in mind, my delegation has supported resolution 781 (1992), just adopted by the Council. That resolution has added a new element to the United Nations Protection Force's already heavy mandate.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The practical modalities for implementing many of the provisions of the resolution still need to be worked out in the field by UNPROFOR and the working groups of the London Conference.

An added unfortunate complication, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his letter of yesterday, is that one of the Bosnian sides, namely the Bosnian Serbs, has yet to give its agreement to a comprehensive ban on military flights and to the modalities for its monitoring.

My delegation fully shares the concern - which the Secretary-General considered serious enough to bring to the notice of the Council in writing - that this lack of agreement of one side could have implications for the effectiveness of UNPROFOR and the security of its personnel.

My delegation has expressed the very same concern before the Council on several occasions in the past, most notably at the adoption of Security Council resolution 770 (1992) in August this year, on which my delegation abstained. Indeed, without the agreement of the Bosnian Serb side, it will be impossible for UNPROFOR to implement this resolution and to station observers at airfields under Bosnian Serb control. It is my delegation's hope that the efforts of UNPROFOR, backed by the firm support of the Council, will prevail upon all sides to obtain their cooperation.

In paragraph 6 of resolution 781 (1992), the Council undertakes, in the event that the agreements voluntarily entered into at London by all sides are violated, and their cooperation is not forthcoming, to consider urgently further measures necessary to enforce this ban.

My delegation agrees that the Council may have no option but to take further measures. The parties cannot be allowed to play around with their own agreements with impunity in such a dangerous and tragic situation. However, we believe that any such measures must conform strictly to the provisions of

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

the Charter. They must remain under direct and effective United Nations command and control, which alone will serve to meet the concerns to which the Secretary-General has drawn our attention, and which we share, namely, that of ensuring that the action is effective and commensurate, and that the security of UNPROFOR personnel can be ensured against the risks. We believe that these important and relevant aspects should govern any further action of the Council, which we earnestly hope will not be necessary.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): Austria supports the establishment of a ban on military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This measure, which is long overdue, is indeed an essential element of ensuring the safety of the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the beleaguered population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is to be hoped that it is also a decisive step towards the cessation of hostilities.

We note the views expressed by the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina in his letter of 4 October 1992 to the President of the Security Council. We note in particular that a ban on military flights was already agreed to by the parties at the London Conference. Regrettably, this agreement - like many others before it - has not been kept by the Serbian side, whose aggression in the air has continued unabated just as it does on the ground.

That is why the firm undertaking by the Security Council in the present resolution to take the necessary further measures to enforce this ban in case of its violation is of primordial importance. We hope that it will not be necessary to do so. We also hope that the Serbian side will now realize the determination of the Council to bring about, at long last, an end to the slaughter in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): We eagerly awaited the London Conference with the hope that all the parties would put an end to hostilities, and especially with the hope that one party - regrettably, always the same one - would put an end to its exactions, crimes and inadmissible practices in a sovereign State that is a Member of our Organization.

Nothing today indicates that Serbia intends to stop its actions before its plan is fully implemented. That plan encompasses all of the horrible measures about which we learn every day, unfortunately, with a greater or lesser degree of delay. The Council is seeking to deal with the situation and has been taking action nearly every day. After considering the question of war crimes, today we are taking up the matter of violations of airspace over Bosnia and Herzegovina, armed attacks, as well as the bombing of innocent civilians who have lost homes and property. We trust that this action will have the effect of further discouraging those who have decided to violate our rules and values. My country and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to which it belongs, certainly welcome this new resolution, but we wish to consider it only as part of a whole which will ultimately force Serbia to cease all these massacres and all this nightmare.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from France): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of France.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, unfortunately, continues to be marked by fighting and daily bombings, adding ever further to the sufferings of the people of that country.

(The President)

In particular, the continuation of aerial bombings, in spite of the undertakings given at the London Conference on the ban of military flights over the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in our view calls for a clear-cut reaction from the international community.

The resolution just adopted seems to me, in this regard, to provide an appropriate response. In the text, the Council fully endorses the commitment of the parties, made at the London Conference, on establishing a ban on military flights. My delegation calls upon all parties to observe this ban strictly.

By this resolution, the Council also undertakes, in the event of violations of the ban, to consider urgently the further measures necessary to enforce this ban. This in no way prejudges the nature of the measures the Council might take in such an event.

In the view of my Government, it was important for such a warning to be issued to the parties concerned so as to encourage them to abide by their commitments forthwith.

Lastly, the French delegation has studied with the greatest attention the Secretary-General's letter dated 8 October, in which he, in particular, calls the attention of the Council to the security of the members of UNPROFOR. This is a matter of major importance. I pay a tribute to the personnel of the Force, and repeat my Government's unreserved condemnation of attacks against UNPROFOR, which, regrettably, have already claimed too many victims. Once again, my delegation urges all parties to refrain from any action that might imperil the members of the Force, which is contributing so valiantly to the process of peace and reconciliation.

(The President)

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.